

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 SAM-01 SAJ-01

ACDA-19 IO-14 NIC-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-11 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20

DRC-01 /119 W

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O 071040Z AUG 74

FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0194

INFO AMEMBASSY MADRID IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 LISBON 3341

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR SP PO PINT

SUBJ: DON JUAN REQUEST TO SEE U.S. CHARGE

REFS: (A) LISBON 3300; (B) MADRID 4927; (C) MADRID 4891;

(D) MADRID 3689

SUMMARY: DON JUAN ASKED TO SEE THE CHARGE IN ORDER TO
MAKE TWO POINTS CLEAR TO THE U.S. GOVERNMENT:
1) HE DOES NOT INTEND TO MAKE TROUBLE OVER THE
SUCCESSION ISSUE AT THE TIME THE POSITION OF CHIEF
OF STATE PASSES PERMANENTLY FROM FRANCO TO JUAN CARLOS,
AND 2) HE DISASSOCIATES HIMSELF ENTIRELY FROM COMMUNISTS
AND FIRMLY ADVOCATES THAT SPAIN MAINTAIN ITS
COMMITMENT TO WESTERN COUNTRIES, INCLUDING ITS
BASE AGREEMENTS WITH THE UNITED STATES. IN THE COURSE
OF THE CONVERSATION DON JUAN GAVE SOME OF HIS VIEWS
ON CURRENT AND FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS IN SPAIN AND
ANNOUNCED HIS INTENTION TO OUTLINE HIS PROGRAM TO
HIS FELLOWS AT THE TIME JUAN CARLOS BECOMES
DEFINITELY CHIEF OF STATE. END SUMMARY.

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1. DON JUAN SAID THAT HE HAS ASKED TO SEE THE CHARGE (HE ACTUALLY SAW ECON/COUNSELOR, CHARGE BEING IN OPORTO) IN ORDER TO MAKE TWO POINTS CLEAR TO THE U.S. GOVERNMENT: A. WHEN JUAN CARLOS BECOMES PERMANENT CHIEF OF STATE, EITHER THROUGH THE DEATH OF FRANCO OR BY PROCLAMATION BEFORE FRANCO DIES, HE, DON JUAN, WILL TAKE NO ACTION REGARDING SUCCESSION THAT COULD UPSET THE TRANSITION--PROVIDED THAT THE GOVERNMENT INSTALLS A GENUINE DEMOCRACY AND IS NOT A MERE CONTINUATION OF FRANCO'S AUTOCRATIC REGIME. BY "GENUINE DEMOCRACY" HE MEANT INTER ALIA ABOLITION OF CORTES AND FREELY ELECTED PARLIAMENT. B. DON JUAN, REFERRING TO THE "DEMOCRATIC JUNTA" ANNOUNCED IN PARIS ON JULY 29 (REF C), SAID HE WANTED TO DISASSOCIATE HIMSELF COMPLETELY FROM THE COMMUNISTS BECAUSE THEY ARE NOT DEMOCRATS AND NEVER WILL BE, ALTHOUGH THEY DO TRY TO MANIPULATE DEMOCRACY TO PROMOTE THEIR OWN ENDS. HE FIRMLY ADVOCATES THAT SPAIN MAINTAIN ITS COMMITMENTS WITHWESTERN COUNTRIES, INCLUDING ITS U.S. BASE AGREEMENT.

2. DURING THE ENSUING CONVERSATION DON JUAN MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS: A. DON JUAN'S PROGRAM: ASSERTING THAT HE HAS A STRONG FOLLOWING IN SPAIN BECAUSE FOR 37 YEARS HE HAS CHAMPIONED DEMOCRACY, DON JUAN STATED THAT A MONARCHY TODAY CANNOT SURVIVE IF IT IS NOT DEMOCRATIC. AS SOON AS JUAN CARLOS FULLY SUCCEEDS FRANCO AS CHIEF OF STATE, DON JUAN SAID THAT HE PLANS TO SET FORTH HIS (DON JUAN'S) PROGRAM IN A PUBLIC DECLARATION TO HIS FOLLOWERS. HE HAD NOT DONE SO ON JUNE 24, AS MANY HAD URGED (SEE REF D), BECAUSE HE DID "NOT WISH TO BURN HIS CARTRIDGES"; I.E., HE WANTED TO SAVE IT FOR A TIME WHEN ITS IMPACT WOULD BE GREATEST. DON JUAN DID NOT REVEAL THE PROGRAM'S CONTENTS, WHICH HE IS CURRENTLY WORKING ON, BUT INDICATED THAT IT WOULD CONTAIN THE DEMOCRATIC REFORMS HE HAS SUPPORTED ALL HIS LIFE. B. ABDICATION: DON JUAN SAID

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THAT NO ONE HAS EVER ASKED HIM TO ABDICATE AND HE SAW NO REASON WHY THIS WOULD BE NECESSARY TO PROMOTE HIS SON'S POSITION. "JUAN CARLOS", HE SAID, "HAS BEEN NAMED TO BE CHIEF OF STATE, AND ON THE MATTER OF ROYAL SUCCESSION, I DO NOT INTEND TO BE A NUISANCE". DON JUAN STATED, HOWEVER, THAT IF JUAN CARLOS SHOULD LET HIMSELF BECOME A PART OF A REGIME THAT CARRIED ON UNCHANGED

IN THE FRANCO TRADITION, HE WOULD OPPOSE HIS SON AND CONSIDER THAT HIS GRANDSON WAS THE RIGHTFUL HEIR. C. CURRENT SITUATION: THE CURRENT "INTERREGNUM", ACCORDING TO DON JUAN, IS BAD AND SHOULD NOT BE PERMITTED TO GO ON MUCH LONGER. HE FEELS THAT JUAN CARLOS IS STILL VERY MUCH UNDER THE TUTELAGE OF FRANCO AND FRANCO'S MEN, AS WITNESS JUAN CARLOS'S ASSENT TO PRESIDE OVER HIS FIRST COUNCIL OF MINISTER'S MEETING IN FRANCO'S PALACE INSTEAD OF THE ROYAL PALACE. "IF I WERE MY SON", DON JUAN SAID, "I WOULD HAVE INSISTED THAT THE MEETING BE HELD AT THE ROYAL PALACE, AND I PLAN TO TELL HIM SO WHEN HE CALLS". (DON JUAN WAS EXPECTING A CALL ANY MOMENT FROM JUAN CARLOS). DON JUAN BELIEVES THAT SPAIN IN FACT HAS ALREADY ENTERED THE POST-FRANCO PERIOD. HE HAS RECEIVED RELIABLE REPORTS, INCLUDING ONE FROM FRANCO'S NEPHEW NICOLAS WHO VISITED HIM LAST WEEK, THAT FRANCO CANNOT SURVIVE BEYOND CHRISTMAS AT THE LATEST. D. LIBERALIZATION IN THE POST-FRANCO ERA:

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 SAM-01 ACDA-19

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0195

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 LISBON 3341

NOFORN

DON JUAN EXPECTS THAT AFTER FRANCO THERE WILL BE LIBERALIZATION BUT AT A SLOWER PACE THAN HE WOULD

DESIRE INASMUCH AS THE EXISTING ESTABLISHMENT IS VERY STRONG AND RELUCTANT TO ACCEPT CHANGE. THIS ARMY, FOR EXAMPLE, IS VERY STRONG, WITH THE COLONELS AND THE GENERALS FIRMLY IDENTIFIED WITH THE PRESENT REGIME. ALTHOUGH SOME SENIOR OFFICERS AND MOST OF THE LOWER-LEVEL OFFICERS WOULD LIKE "THINGS TO OPEN UP A BIT", DON JUAN DOUBTED THAT THEY WOULD FIND OR DEVELOP THE LEADERSHIP REQUIRED FOR AN OPPOSITION MOVEMENT. E. CALVO SERER AND THE DEMOCRATIC JUNTA: WHILE DON JUAN WANTED TO MAKE IT PERFECTLY CLEAR THAT HE HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH SERER'S MOVE TO JOIN WITH THE SPANISH COMMUNISTS IN ANNOUNCING THE FORMATION OF A DEMOCRATIC JUNTA, HE DID NOT SEEM DISTURBED OR HURT BY SERER'S ACTION. HE DESCRIBED SERER AS A LONG-TIME FRIEND AND EXCUSED HIM BY SAYING THAT "HE WAS A MAN WHO WILL TALK TO ANYBODY" AND A MAN PRONE TO "TAKE EXPEDIENT ACTIONS". DON JUAN SAID HE HAD READ THE JUNTA'S PROGRAM, MUCH OF WHICH SEEMED GOOD TO HIM, BUT HE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT THE COMMUNISTS REALLY SUBSCRIBED TO ALL OF THE
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POINTS.

3. DON JUAN STRESSED THAT THE TWO POINTS MADE IN PARA 1 ABOVE WERE FOR U.S. GOVERNMENT EARS ONLY AND THAT HE HAD NO INTENTION OF MAKING THEM PUBLIC. HIS REASONS FOR CONVEYING THESE POINTS TO THE USG AT THIS TIME WERE THAT JUAN CARLOS COULD AT ANY MOMENT PERMANENTLY SUCCEED FRANCO AS CHIEF OF STATE AND THAT THE ANNOUNCEMENT FROM PARIS OF A DEMOCRATIC JUNTA MIGHT HAVE LED THE USG TO BELIEVE THAT DON JUAN HAD ENTERED INTO AN AGREEMENT WITH THE SPANISH COMMUNISTS.

4. COMMENT: DON JUAN'S WORDS AND TONE OF VOICE CONVEYED THE IMPRESSION THAT HE WILL SINCERELY SUPPORT HIS SON IF JUAN CARLOS WILL FOLLOW THE KIND OF IDEAS THAT DON JUAN ESPOUSES. REGARDING ABDICATION, HOWEVER, DON JUAN GAVE NO INDICATION THAT HE WOULD TAKE SUCH A STEP OR THOUGHT THAT SUCH A STEP WAS NEEDED TO SMOOTH JUAN CARLOS' WAY. A FORMER U.S. GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL, WHO NOW RESIDES IN PORTUGAL AND KNOWS DON JUAN WELL, DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT HE WILL ABDICATE UNLESS LACK OF LEGITIMACY HAMPERS HIS SON'S ABILITY TO CARRY OUT NEEDED REFORMS.

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